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sonably to the influence of the French *que*? When Prior writes (see Storm, *Eng. Phil.*, p. 713)

"Thou art a girl, as much brighter than *her*,
As he is a poet sublimer than *me*,"

it is impossible not to feel that he is strongly under the influence of French models.

But why did not the Old English dative of comparison develop into prepositional *than* without the aid of the French idiom, and why is not prepositional *than* as fully established to-day as conjunctive *than*, or as French prepositional *que*? This is a difficult question, but the answer seems to me to lie in the wide employment, during all periods of English, of *do* as a substitute for the verb of the preceding clause. In such a sentence as *He talks better than I*, if anything be understood after *I*, it is *do*, not *talk*. Indeed, all forms of *do* as thus used, have become so common that *than* has to fight its way with great difficulty to a purely prepositional import. When a Frenchman says *Il parle mieux que moi*, there is, of course, no mentally supplied predicate following *moi*. Such a predicate has long dropped out of consciousness, the French having no colorless word like *do* to keep alive the conjunctive force of *que*. But with us, the case is different: in Old English, Middle English, and Modern English, *do* has been our *pro-verb*. With the sole exception of the verb *to be*, there is not a verb in our language that *do* cannot represent, provided its antecedent does not precede it too far.

I repeat, therefore, that the introduction, or at least the florescence, in the Queen Anne Age of prepositional *than* before the personal pronouns, is due to French influence; and that the forces now operative in English do not seem to warrant an indiscriminate use of *than* as a preposition before the personal pronouns.

(2) But the case is different with *than whom*. We cannot mentally supply a predicate in this construction. The genius of the language is "dead" against it. What is Mr. Moon's understood predicate in his *than who* construction? An oblique case is forced upon us. The nominative is impossible. Precisely the same impossibility is evidenced in Latin. Cicero's comparison, *Polybium sequamur, quo nemo fuit diligentior*, could not be otherwise ex-

pressed. *Quam qui* might delight Mr. Moon, but no Roman. The palmary example of *than whom* is Milton's

"Beelzebub, than whom none higher sat."

But Shakespeare has one employment of the same construction (L. L. L. iii, 1, 180),

"A domineering pedant o'er the bay;
Than whom no mortal so magnificent!"

The *than whom* construction seems, therefore, to have originated in the Italian period of our language, at least a hundred years before the recorded appearance of *than me*, *than him*, etc. The most reasonable inference is that there has been Italian influence; for, in Italian, *than* with any pronoun is represented by the preposition *di*, provided, of course, no predicate follow; and with *than* and the relative pronoun, a sequent predicate is impossible.

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THE "CRÓNICA DE LOS RIMOS ANTIGUOS."

IN the year 1863, the well-known Spanish scholar, Amador de los Rios, made a contribution to Spanish literature by publishing portions of a hitherto unknown poem on Count Fernan Gonzalez, a favorite national hero of the Middle Ages. In his *Historia Crítica de la Literatura Española*,¹ he tells us all that is known of this poem and cites from it, in all, some two hundred verses. The poem is preserved in fragments interspersed in a prose chronicle of Fernan Gonzalez. The prose chronicle is written by Fray Gonzalo de Arredondo, Abbot of San Pedro de Arlanza, and Royal Chronicler to Ferdinand and Isabella. Arredondo dedicates his work to the Emperor Charles V, which fact leads Rios to put the date of the prose chronicle, or at least the dedication, after the year 1520.

The following is a brief summary of Rios' conclusions in regard to the poetic fragments. The poem is virtually a reproduction of the celebrated old thirteenth century *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, but it differs from this work in the form of versification, as well as in the manner of describing events; and furthermore, it contains various events not found in

¹ Vol. iv, pp. 443-459.

the older poem. The poetic form is *quintillas*, and as to date, Rios concludes that it is contemporary with the *Historia en Coplas de Alfonso XI*, that is, 1352 or a little later. The proof of this date is a certain rudeness of diction in the poem itself and Arredondo's voucher for its antiquity. This, then, is the state of the question as Rios left it; namely, that Arredondo, writing his prose chronicle at the end of the fifteenth century, or the beginning of the sixteenth, interpolated extensive quotations from a *Crónica de los Rimos Antiguos*, or poetic history of Fernan Gonzalez, written about the middle of the fourteenth century.

Fortunately the Spanish critic tells us from what manuscript he has taken the many verses printed in his *Literatura*; namely, Escorial Y-iii-2. The writer of the present article has been able to examine this manuscript and the study here presented is based on results so obtained. As Rios correctly remarks, Arredondo cites passages from the *Crónica de los Rimos Antiguos*, and also from the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*; but, strange to say, he makes no mention of a third poem, a *villancico* of twenty-three stanzas, the refrain of which is: "Y aunque muerte, vencedor." The extent to which the chronicler makes use of the first two poems is stated by Rios as follows:

"Y tanta estimacion lograron estos en el juicio de Arredondo, que apenas hallamos capítulo, en donde ya á manera de epigrafe, ya por via de confirmacion de su relato, no insertára algunas estrofas; pensamiento feliz á que debemos hoy la posesion de esta joya de la poesia histórica castellana."

Senor Rios' enthusiasm has led him to exaggerate. Arredondo's prose chronicle is divided into four parts or books, and it is only in Book ii that we find citations from the so-called *Crónica de los Rimos Antiguos*; the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez* is quoted in only three cases.

Indeed, Rios' examination of the manuscript must have been extremely superficial, otherwise he must have noticed a most striking disarrangement of leaves in Book ii. To be sure, the numbering of folios is consecutive, but the numbering was done after the manuscript had been bound, or at least after it had been arranged for binding. As the manuscript

exists at present, the second half of Chapter xxviii follows immediately the first half of Chapter xiv, the missing chapters being found in the interior of Chapter xlii. The misplaced leaves are numbered 182-241 and consist of exactly three quires of twenty folios each. These three quires, if put in their proper place between folios 121 and 122 (the first and last leaf of two consecutive quires), make the order of chapters correct, and if further proof is necessary it is furnished by the context and also by the existence of a divided word *hecho*. The first syllable of this word occurs at the bottom of fo. 121 *verso*, and if fo. 242 be made next in order, *-cho* will be found to be the first syllable at the top of the folio *recto*.

As might be expected from the above discovery, some of the verses quoted by Rios would be referred to the wrong chapter of the prose chronicle; but this should happen only in the case of Chapters xiv, xxviii and xlii. The carelessness, however, does not stop here, for five of the chapter references are incorrect, and *all* of the poetic fragments are cited as occurring in Book i, whereas all of them occur in Book ii.

Another example of superficial work may be seen in the failure to discover the exact date at which Arredondo's chronicle was written. On the last folio *verso* of the Escorial manuscript (but not at the bottom of the page), the author, speaking of the contents in the fourth and last book, says that the kings of Castile and the descendants of Count Fernan Gonzalez are brought down "fasta en nuestro tiempo que es en el año del Señor de mill quinientos y catorce." So that Arredondo evidently finished his work in 1514, and wrote the dedication to Charles V at a later date.

We come now to a consideration of the fragmentary poem itself, which Rios calls *Crónica de los Rimos Antiguos*, and the date of which he places at the middle of the fourteenth century. Both Milá y Fontanals and Menéndez y Pelayo were struck by a false ring in this poem. The former remarks:

"El corte de las quintillas (no el empleo de este metro) nos parece indicar un versificador de la segunda mitad del s. xv; y el lenguaje afectadamente arcaico."²

² *Poesia Heroico-popular Castellana*, p. 188, note 3.

The latter explains it as being a falsification by Arredondo himself.³ There is, to be sure, a false element in the poem, but this is due not to Arredondo or the scribe, but to Rios who, in his printed version, has altered a sixteenth century work and has tried to force it into a fourteenth century appearance. His excuse for so doing, seems to be found in the following passage:

"El empeño que los escritores y publicadores de su (Arredondo's) tiempo mostraron en *polir y perfeccionar* el estilo y lenguaje de las producciones de la edad media, haya sido parte á disfigurar este nuevo *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, haciendo algunos de sus accidentes exteriores vacilar á la critica respecto de la verdadera época en que hubo de ser compuesto."⁴

The following are a few of the means employed by Rios in order to *restore* the poem:

1. Use of archaic *ie* for *i* in *maraviella* (p. 447), *sençiella* (p. 450), *rodiellas* (p. 453), etc.⁵
2. Initial *f* for *h* in *fesieron* (p. 446), *faré* (p. 450), *finojado* (p. 453), etc.
3. Omission of initial *h* in *onrado* (p. 449), *ospedado* (p. 449), etc.
4. Use of old strong perfects *veno* (p. 452), *fesieron* (p. 446), *venieron* (p. 452), etc.
5. The conjunction 'and' is rendered by *et*, whereas the MS. has *y* or *e*.
6. Use of final *t* for *d* in *lit* (p. 450), *servit* (p. 452), *crueldat* (p. 452), etc.

In regard to the language of the poem under consideration, Rios bases his claims to antiquity upon a certain rudeness of diction, and the occurrence of stock expressions which are characteristic of the early period of Spanish literature. But, as the Spanish scholar himself tells us that the fragmentary poem is an obvious imitation of the old thirteenth century poem, this rudeness of diction and the occurrence of old Spanish phrases, may as well be attributed to the imitative genius of a sixteenth century author as to a fourteenth century one. The imitation of the older poem is evident, but what is rudeness of diction in a pseudo-fourteenth century poem must be characterized as *doggerel* when it occurs two hundred years later.

³ *Antologia de Poetas Liricos Castellanos*, iii, p. 124, note.

⁴ *Literatura*, iv, p. 439. The italics are Rios'.

⁵ Even *villa* (< *villan*) is made to appear as *viella* (pp. 447, 450).

As to the versification, Rios cites several cases where five-verse stanzas are used before the middle of the fourteenth century, though he himself seems to feel that the *quintillas* as found in the fragmentary poem are characteristic of a later period.

The final proof of the age of our poem is of a more formidable kind: we are told that Arredondo himself vouches for its antiquity. Rios' statement is as follows:

"Declarando el cronista de los Reyes Católicos que estaba su obra sacada con gran estudio de muchos, singulares y ciertos libros' daba el nombre de '*Crónica de rimos antiguos*' á este *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, quilatando su autoridad por lo remoto del tiempo en que lo suponía escrito. 'É yo digo y afirmo (añadía tratando de esta y de la primera historia poética del Conde) que estos metros tienen en sí toda verdad. . . É no debemos considerar la manera del grosero hablar, sino atender sy lo que dizen es cierto ó verdad, ca no es verdad toda elocuencia, ni mentira toda habla grosera.'"⁶

It will be remembered that in addition to the numerous fragments of the poem printed by Rios, Arredondo cites passages from the old thirteenth century *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*. This he does in three instances. First, in Book i, chapter 38, where, after speaking of the genealogy of Count Fernan Gonzalez, he adds: "lo qual consta por los metros antiguos que en aquel tiempo usaban, que entre otras cosas dizen:" then follows the "copla" corresponding to no. 168 of Janer's text. The second citation occurs in Book i, chapter 41: "del qual entre otras cosas dizen los metros antiguos ansi:" then follows the "copla antigua" corresponding to no. 170 of Janer's text. The third case where the older poem is cited, is in Book ii, chapter 81, in which, after speaking of the first judges of Castile and of the various sources and documents used in preparing his chronicle, Arredondo continues thus:

"E aun en los rimos muy antequisismos de las coronicas de aquel tiempo, comiençan el alcamiento y sacamiento de los alcaldes o juezes de Castilla despues luego que murió el rey don Alfonso el Casto e dizen entre otras cosas los metros asy."

Then follow thirteen coplas designated as "metros antiguos," which correspond to nos.

⁶ *Literatura*, iv, p. 440.

159-161 of Janer's text. These coplas affirm that, upon the death of King Alfonso el Casto, the Castilians did not elect a new king, but appointed two judges, Nuño Rasura and Lain Calvo, the ancestors respectively of Fernan Gonzalez and the Cid Campeador. Now, following directly upon these thirteen coplas, occurs the passage which Rios quotes in order to establish Arredondo's indorsement of the antiquity of the fragmentary poem. It is evident, however, that the passage in question refers only to the thirteenth century poem, (from which the thirteen coplas are taken), and not to the fragmentary poem in *quintillas*.

Furthermore, if Rios had quoted the whole passage instead of a portion of it, he would have seen that even the title, "*Crónica de los Rimos Antiguos*," refers to the older poem, and not to the one he has been at so much labor to glorify. The passage following the thirteen coplas, reads as follows:

"Estas y otras coplas ponen las corónicas de los rimos antiguos, de donde paresçe que los poetas e coronistas mucho antepasados no herraron el principio de sus corónicas pues començaron en el rey don Fruele o despues de finado el rey don Alfonso el Casto. No fazen otra mencion porque fuesen alçados sy no a mengua e a falta de no auer sucesion real. Y aunque a alguno parezca estos rimos no de tanta autoridad por en sy no tener buen estilo, a mi lo tal no paresçe porque asi tomamos las cosas de los autores pasados e su hablar segund la sazón e tienpo en que se hallaron e fueron escritos; e tanto estos metros tienen en sy mas verdad, quanto son mas antiguos puesque paresçe asy por corónicas como por otras escripturas que los tales rimos se usaban y aun dellos se preciavan en tienpo del ynfante Pelayo y del rey don Alfonso el Católico y del rey don Alfonso el Casto y de los otros reyes sucesyivamente fasta el rey don Fernando el Magno. E no solo esta manera de escrevir se usava en aquellos tienpos en las corónicas, mas aun en las vidas e historias de santos como paresce en Sant Millan e de Santo Toribio y de otros. E yo digo e afirmo que estos metros tienen en sy toda verdad pues conçiernan con los previllegios, los quales en ninguna manera mentir podien (*sic*!) y no devemos considerar la manera del grosero hablar syno atender sy lo que dizen es cierto ó verdad ca no es verdad toda eloquenciá ni mentira toda la habla grosera."

The force of this passage is clear. Arredondo, referring to the first mention of the

Judges of Castile, cites thirteen ancient coplas to prove his point and continues with a justification of his use of these verses as reliable historical material. The chronicler says, furthermore, that this poetic form of narration was used not only in the early chronicles, but also in the lives of saints as seen in Sant Millan, Santo Toribio and others. A versified life of Santo Toribio I have not found, but by far the best known life of San Millan is the versified one written by Berceo in the thirteenth century and the metre employed is the same as that used in the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, from which Arredondo's thirteen coplas are taken. Hence, there can be no doubt that the title *Crónica de los Rimos Antiguos*, as used by Arredondo, is intended to refer to the older thirteenth century poem and not to the one in *quintillas*.⁷

If further proof were needed, the following facts would furnish it. In the Escorial manuscript used by Rios, the older poem is quoted only in the three cases enumerated above. It was the good fortune of the present writer to discover several manuscripts not included in Rios' list; namely, I-209 and T-31 of the Bib. Nac. of Madrid, H-37 of the Acad. de la Hist., and the fragment U-11-8 of the Escorial. All contain citations from the older poem with a total of twenty-six different coplas, or one hundred and four verses, which shows that the original was well known to Arredondo. Furthermore, these coplas are always introduced as *metros antiguos*, or *coplas antiquisimas*, whereas, in those manuscripts where the later poem is quoted, the *quintillas* are generally added at the end of the various chapters with no sort of introduction or qualification. There is, however, one exception and this is mentioned by Rios himself:

"Oportuno juzgamos observar que en varias copias de la *Crónica* de Arredondo que hemos examinado, no se hallan los fragmentos del Poema de que hablamos: en la que se guarda por ejemplo en la Biblioteca Nacional, señalada con la marca F-68, que fué sin duda hecha en el mismo siglo xvi y tiene dos aprobaciones,

⁷ It is almost incomprehensible that Rios should have misapplied the passage quoted above, for in speaking of the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez* (*Literatura*, iii, p. 343, note) he quotes a portion of the same passage as applying to the thirteen coplas of this older poem.

una de Luis Tribaldos de Toledo, y otra de Gil Gonzalez Dávila, dadas en 1622, con un prólogo del primero, sólo encontramos citadas dos estrofas, calificadas en *metros antiguos* (cap. cxix) y de *antiguos rimos* (cap. cxlix) de mano del mismo Tribaldos."⁸

Thus, the only case where the *quintillas* are spoken of as *ancient rhymes*, is in an imperfect manuscript, and this characterization is not by the author of the chronicle, but by Tribaldos, a man who wrote more than one hundred years after the chronicle was composed.

A final point before dismissing the title of the poem. The older poetic history must have been well known to Arredondo, as is seen by his numerous citations from it; we know that it was probably written by a monk of San Pedro de Arlanza (the monastery to which Arredondo belonged); and we also have on record that in Arredondo's time there probably existed in the monastery of Arlanza a manuscript copy of this poem. Furthermore, the title "*Crónica de los Rimos Antiguos*," is especially appropriate to the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, as will be seen from a glance at its contents. The work is an old Spanish epic of the national hero, but it begins with the Gothic invasion, enumerates the early Kings down to the time of Rodrigo, and has an extensive treatment of this last King of the Goths. The narrative then continues the history of Spain, with a discussion of the French invasion, Bernardo del Carpio, and the battle of Roncesvalles, bringing the summary down to the time of Fernan Gonzalez who flourished in the middle of the tenth century; the remainder of the poem is devoted to the achievements of this Count. The introductory portion occupies 171 coplas and the whole poem has only 740, so that nearly one fourth of the work deals with events previous to the time of our hero. Hence the poem is virtually a rhymed chronicle, and the title given to it by Arredondo is indeed well-chosen.

As to the fragmentary poem in *quintillas*, we have seen that its language makes it contem-

⁸ *Literatura*, iv, p. 438-9. Incidentally it may be noted that Rios fails to record a third case where MS. F-68, cites the fragmentary poem and calls the quotation a *metro antiguo*; namely, cap. cxxvii.

porary with the prose chronicle in which it occurs. But who was the author of these fragments? If in reading a modern prose work we should find scattered through the text various more or less rude attempts at poetry, the poetry being without quotation marks or any explanation on the part of the author of the book, as to where he got it, we should naturally say that the poetry was written by the author of the prose portion; and this is the conclusion we should reach in reading the verses in Arredondo's chronicle. The author nowhere tells us where he gets these verses, nor are they qualified in any way as are those taken from the thirteenth century poem, and the natural inference is that Arredondo wrote them himself. Furthermore, they are not fragments of a more extensive work, but are simply laudatory or explanatory verses which are placed at the end of the several chapters as a poetic summary of the contents or sentiment of these chapters. The identification of Arredondo as the author is strengthened by the fact that we not only know that he was accustomed to dabble in poetry, as is shown by the *Crónica Artantina*,⁹ but that he made use of the same style and metre employed in the *quintillas* under discussion. This latter point is made clear by the following facts: Of the various manuscripts of Arredondo's prose chronicle, only three¹⁰ contain the *quintillas*; namely, Y-iii-2, I-209, F-68. The others, though not containing the *quintillas*, are more extensive than those just enumerated, in that they begin with the creation of the world, and together with F-68 have a more extensive "Prólogo del autor." In the longer "prólogo," the author, speaking of the fame of Count Fernan Gonzalez, remarks:¹¹

Aun sus enemigos le ensalçan, ca Auenafanje,
que fue coronista de los reyes moros, fablando
en los hechos deste victoriosissimo conde, dize
en su arauigo que en nuestro lengua ynterpre-
tado suena asi:

Levantóse un cauallero
Fernan Gonzalez nombrado;

⁹ Restori, *Gesta del Cid*, pp. 122-128, publishes fifteen stanzas of this poem. Cf. also Rios, *Literatura* iii, p. 367; Ticknor, *Span. Lit.*, Second Period, Chap. xxviii, note 3.

¹⁰ I have not seen the manuscript mentioned by Gallardo in his *Ensayo*, i, p. 761.

¹¹ The reading is from F-68 of the Bib. Nac. de Madrid.

Brauo y mortal omicero,
Como buytre carnicero,
Que á todos a destrozado.

Siempre fueron muy feroçes
Los de donde este deçiede.
Mira, mira, assi te goçes,
Como assi segura con hoçes
A quien algo mal les riende.

So that it is evident that Arredondo not only wrote poetry (?), but that he made use of the metrical form found in the poem under consideration.

The results of this investigation may be briefly summarized as follows: 1. The title of the poem in *quintillas* is not "Crónica de los Rimos Antiguos." 2. It was not composed in the middle of the fourteenth century, but is contemporary with the prose chronicle in which it is found. 3. The author was probably Arredondo himself. 4. The title "Crónica de los Rimos Antiguos" is used by Arredondo to refer to the thirteenth century *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*.

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THE LANGUAGE OF THE SKEIREINS.

THE authorship of the Skeireins will probably never be definitely determined. Loebe, one of the earliest authorities on this question, arrived at the conclusion that,

"Whoever the author of the Skeireins may be, the question is so difficult to answer, and connecting links are so entirely wanting, that it seems better to leave the question alone."

Certain features of the language, however, are worthy of attention.

Marold, after a minute investigation, concludes that the text of the citations is that of Wulfila throughout. This he infers in the case of those passages not preserved in the Codex Argenteus, from the close adherence to the Greek text and from the idiom. But, he concludes, the text quoted is one more interpolated than the Codex Argenteus. The time of composition he determines to be not earlier than the middle of the fifth century, probably sometime in the sixth century.

But it is with the commentary or Skeireins proper, that we are more directly concerned. Bernhardt in his edition summarizes the results

of investigation up to the time of that edition, and concludes that the Skeireins is not translated, but composed in the Gothic language, with the aid, however, of Greek commentaries. He cites correspondences in thought and in individual expressions, discovered by Massmann and others, between certain passages in the Skeireins and corresponding passages in Cyrillus and Theodorus, and concludes that the author of the Skeireins had before him either these works or some common work upon which these two were based. But that the Skeireins is not a translation, at least not a slavish one like that of Wulfila, Bernhardt concludes from the nature of the language and the manner of exposition. As illustration of independence he cites a number of Gothic idioms which, he asserts, cannot be shown either in Greek or in Latin: *und pana laist II d, V a, ni þe haldis IV d, in allaim alamannam VIII b*, and points out the awkward accumulation of participles, for instance, *IV b, VIII c*; and of genitives, for instance, *III b, c*; and the frequent anacolutha, for instance, *IV a, V c*.

What I have here to offer is further internal evidence in line with that presented by Bernhardt.

In the first place a statistical study of the word-order shows that the Skeireins, as a whole, is not a translation from the Greek. This conclusion I have reached after a comparison of statistics for the Skeireins proper, with corresponding statistics for the cited passages, which, as Marold has shown, are from Wulfila, and with statistics gathered by Friedrichs for clauses with pronominal subject, in Wulfila. These statistics are as follows:

1. Clauses with pronominal subject, in Wulfila.

	NORM.	PART.	TRANSP.	TRANSP.
<i>Principal.</i>	115	25		55
<i>Subordinate.</i>	60	15		30

2. Cited passages in the Skeireins.

	NORM.	PART.	TRANSP.	TRANSP.
<i>Principal.</i>	19	3		10
<i>Subordinate.</i>	24	0		5

3. Skeireins proper.

	NORM.	PART.	TRANSP.	TRANSP.
<i>Principal.</i>	12	11		39
<i>Subordinate.</i>	16	16		23